

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 SAM-01 DHA-02 OMB-01

SAJ-01 ACDA-05 EA-07 AID-05 /091 W
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O 220735Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2158

INFO AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 1811

GABORONE FOR AMBASSADOR WILKOWSKI

EO 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, RH, SF, UR, ZA

SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICAN - ZAMBIAN TALKS ON RHODESIA; CONCERN
ABOUT SOVIET INFLUENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

REF: LUSAKA 1802 (NOTAL)

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR MARK CHONA CALLED ME
JUST AFTER 0800 SUNDAY SEPT 21 FOR DEBRIEFING AT
STATE HOUSE ON BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS WHICH ZAMBIANS HAD
DAY BEFORE WITH SOUTH AFRICANS AT LUSAKA. FACED WITH STALE-
MATE ON RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT, BOTH SIDES AGREED TO KEEP THEIR
DIALOGUE ALIVE BUT TO STAND ASIDE WHILE MOST DIRECTLY INVOLVED
PRINCIPLAS (ANC AND SMITH) SORT OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES, FIRST
WITHIN THEIR OWN RESPECTIVE RANKS AND THEN BETWEEN THE TWO
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PARTIES. SOUTH AFRICA AND ZAMBIA ALSO AGREED ON SOVIET POTENTIAL

FOR DESTABILIZATION IN SOUTHER AFRICA THROUGH ENTRY SOVIET ARMS AND INFLUENCE IN ANGOLA AND UGANDA. CHONA ONCE AGAIN SAID IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF USG COULD PASS MESSAGE TO IAN SMITH DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY THROUGH SOUTH AFRICANS TO AVOID UNNECESSARY BLOODSHED BEFORE INEVITABLE TRANSFER OF POWER SINCE ARMED STRUGGLE LIKELY FACILITATE ENTRY OF SOVIETS INTO PICTURE. WE RECOMMEND DEPARTMENT RECONSIDER MAKING DEMARCHE TO SOUTH AFRICANS. END SUMMARY. RDWM CHONA INDICATED THAT, APPARENTLY IN RESPONSE TO SOUTH AFRICAN INITIATIVE, ZAMBIA ASSURED SAG IT SHARED LATTER'S DESIRE TO KEEP LINES OF COMMUNICATION OPEN, NOTWITHSTANDING PRESENT UNCERTAIN AND UNCLEAR STATE OF AFFAIRS FOLLOWING COLLAPSE OF RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT TALKS. SOUTH AFRICANS CONCERNED OVER PROBLEM OF SUPPLYING THEIR LARGE MINING AND OTHER ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN SHABA PROVINCE OF ZAIRE. ZAMBIANS SAID THEY HOPEFUL FRONTIER WITH RHODESIA WILL NOT BE INDEFINITELY CLOSED; IN FACT IT COULD BE REOPENED IF ANC-SMITH TALKS RESUMED AND THERE "CLEAR PROGRESS" TOWARD NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT.

3. CHONA THEN REFERRED TO SECRETARY KISSINGER'S QUESTION TO GRZ FONMIN BANDA IN NEW YORK REGARDING ANY BENEFITS TO SAG FOR ITS WITHDRAWAL OF POLICE FORCES FROM RHODESIA. CHONA SAID SAG ON SOUNDER GROUND STRATEGICALLY BEHIND ITS OWN BORDERS; SAG'S CREDIBILITY IN DEALING WITH OTHER AFRICAN STATES (IVORY COAST AND OTHERS) NOW CONSIDERABLY HIGHER; AND ECONOMICALLY SAG WILL BE LESS BURDENED. SAID SOUTH AFRICANS EXPECT AT LEAST SEVEN THOUSAND WHITE SETTLERS IN RHODESIA WILL WANT TO EMIGRATE TO SOUTH AFRICA WITHIN COMING YEAR. CHONA INDICATED SOUTH AFRICANS CONCERNED WITH INTENTION OF (SOUTH) AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS TO OPEN OFFICE IN LOURENCO MARQUES AND WANT GRZ TO RESTRAIN ANC-SA FROM EXTERNAL AGITATION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. ZAMBIANS ASSURED SOUTH AFRICANS THAT NEIGHBORING BLACK AFRICAN STATES AND ANC-SA RECOGNIZE SOUTH AFRICA AS INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN STATE; HOWEVER, THEY BELIEVE ANC-SA HAS RIGHT TO HAVE ITS VOICE HEARD AND TO OPEN OFFICES IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES.

4. PM VORSTER'S POLICY ON RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT HAS BEEN TO "COOL IT," FOLLOWING VICTORIA FALLS BRIDGE TALKS, YET SMITH'S LATEST STATEMENT RE BLACK-WHITE POWER SHARING AND FORESEEABLE POSSIBILITY OF A BLACK PRIME MINISTER IN RHODESIA WAS ENCOURAGING TO ZAMBIAN STATE HOUSE.

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CHONA WAS UNSURE WHETHER MOTIVATION FOR SMITH'S LATEST STATEMENT TO SABA AND AP CORRESPONDENTS WAS ATTRIBUTABLE TO INFLUENCE OF SOUTH AFRICANS, BRITISH, OR USG. SAID ZAMBIAN HAS NOT HAD CONTACT WITH SMITH SINCE VICTORIA FALLS. IF ONE COULD NOW BELIEVE SMITH, WHILE RECOGNIZING HE CAPABLE OF COMPLETE REVERSAL OF POSITION TOMORROW, CHONA AND I AGREED THAT SMITH'S LATEST STATEMENT TENDS TO RAISE HOPES.

5. AT THIS POINT CHONA AGAIN SAID IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF USG COULD BOTH DIRECTLY WITH SMITH AND INDIRECTLY THROUGH SOUTH AFRICANS RECOGNIZE AND APPLAUD SMITH'S LATEST STATEMENT AS OPPORTUNITY FOR RESUMPTION OF TALKS. MOST IMPORTANT MESSAGE TO PASS TO SMITH FROM THOSE WHO CAN INFLUENCE HIM, CHONA ADDED, IS TO AVOID UNNECESSARY BLOODSHED BEFORE INEVITABLE TRANSFER OF POWER TO MAJORITY. CHONA SAID NOT ONLY ZAMBIANS BUT SOUTH AFRICANS CONCERNED ABOUT LIKELY ENTRY OF SOVIETS ON SCENE IF GUERRILLA WARFARE IN RHODESIA ESCALATED.

5. CHONA THEN SAID "VERY CONFIDENTIALLY" PM VORSTER HAD APPEALED TO KAUNDA AT VICTORIA FALLS THAT IF WARFARE IN RHODESIA COMES, THE TWO LEADERS MUST INSURE THAT IT BE LOCALIZED. BY THAT VORSTER MEANT NEITHER SAG NOR ZAMBIAN TROOPS SHOULD ENTER THE FRAY IN RHODESIA. TWO CHIEFS OF STATE AGREED ON THIS POINT.

6. CHONA REAFFIRMED THAT ZAMBIA AND NEIGHBORING AFRICAN STATES WERE STEADFAST IN THEIR DETERMINATION TO LEAVE RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT TO BRITISH, ANC, AND SMITH "AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING." IT WAS NOT CLEAR FROM CHONA'S OFTENTIMES CIRCUITOUS EXPLANATION WHETHER SOUTH AFRICANS SHARE ZAMBIAN VIEW THAT BRITAIN SHOULD NOT PLAY ACTIVE AND LEADING ROLE. CHONA DUCKED FULL REPLY TO MY QUESTION ON BRIDGING DIFFERENCES WITHIN ANC. HE SPOKE DISPARAGINGLY OF BISHOP MUZOREWA'S WEAKNESSES BUT THOUGHT SOMETHING COULD BE DONE TO BRING SITHOLE AND NKOMO CLOSER. SAID SMITH FOR HIS PART NEEDED TO STOP TALK ABOUT CONFEDERAL SYSTEM AND SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT.

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GABORONE FOR AMBASSADOR WILKOWSKI

7. DRAWING MY ATTENTION TO MAP OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, CHONA GAVE IMPRESSION WITHOUT SAYING SO DIRECTLY THAT ZAMBIANS HAD HAD SWEEPING GEOPOLITICAL DISCUSSION WITH SOUTH AFRICANS ON DANGERS OF SOVIET INFLUENCE IN REGION, ESPECIALLY IN ANGOLA. SAID IT MOST IMPORTANT THERE BE NO DESTABILIZING INFLUENCE ON MOBUTU GOVERNMENT IN ZAIRE; RATHER, THAT MOBUTU CONTINUE BE ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE TO BALANCED SOLUTION IN ANGOLA AND STAY STRONG TO DEFEND HIS EASTERN BORDER AGAINST DISTURBING SOVIET INFLUENCE IN UGANDA WHICH SOVIETS ARMING HEAVILY. RECENT ACQUISITION BY UGANDA OF MIG AIRCRAFT POSES THREAT TO TANZANIA'S NORTHERN BORDER. IMPORTANCE OF MUSLIM ELEMENT IN TANZANIAN POPULATION SHOULD NOT BE IGNORED AS IT TENDS TO BE SYMPATHETIC TO SOVIETS, CHONA SAID. ISYTOLD CHONA THAT RECENT STRAIN IN OUR RELATIONS WITH ZAIRE NOW SURMOUNTED, WE WORKING WITH MOBUTU IN FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS IN ANGOLA VERY CLOSELY,
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AND WE HOPE SEND A NEW AMBASSADOR TO KINSHASA SOON. CHONA ENCOURAGED BY THIS.

8. AGAIN "VERY CONFIDENTIALLY" CHONA SAID USG MUST UNDERSTAND ZAMBIANS REGARD SITUATION IN MOZAMBIQUE AS "VERY DELICATE" AND SUSCEPTIBLE TO SOVIET INFLUENCE. FRELIMO TENDS TO LOOK UPON SOVIET IDEOLOGY AS "PROGRESSIVE" AND ATTRACTIVE IN DIALECTICAL TERMS, BUT IF THERE HAS TO BE A CHOICE BETWEEN SOVIETS AND CHINESE, ZAMBIANS WOULD PREFER SEE INFLUENCE OF LATTER IN MOZAMBIQUE. CHONA LEFT IMPRESSION ZAMBIANS MADE THIS POINT TO SOUTH AFRICANS ALSO. CHONA CONCLUDED THIS PART OF DISCUSSION BY SAYING SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD LIKE TO SEE A FRIENDLY PERIMETER AROUND SOUTHERN AFRICA EMBARCING STABLE SITUATIONS IN ANGOLA, ZAMBIA, AND RHODESIA AS WELL AS MOZAMBIQUE.

9. COMMENT: PERHAPS TO MINIMIZE RISK THAT HIS REMARKS MIGHT BE QUOTED BACK TO SOUTH AFRICANS, CHONA WAS DELIBERATELY AMBIGUOUS ABOUT SOME ASPECTS OF THEIR POSITION. AMB BOWDLER MAY THEREFORE WITH FIND WAY DISCREETLY OBTAIN SOUTH AFRICAN VERSION OF LAST WEEKEND'S LUSAKA TALKS.

10. RECOMMENDATION: WE UNCERTAIN AS TO REASONS WHY DEPARTMENT'S

INSTRUCTION FOR DEMARCHE TO SOUTH AFRICA TO ENCOURAGE RESUMPTION
OF TALKS ON RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT WAS CANCELLED (STATE 215670 AND
216482 - NOTAL) AND UNINFORMED WHETHER REASONS FOR CANCELLATION
STILL PERSIST. NOW THAT ZAMBIANS AND SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE MET AND
CHONA HAS REITERATED REQUEST FOR USG HELP IN PERSUADING SMITH TO
RESUME PURSUIT OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, I URGE DEPARTMENT AGAIN
CONSIDER AUTHORIZING AMB BOWDLER TO SPEAK TO PM VORSTER ABOUT US
CONCERN RHODESIAN SITUATION NOT BE ALLOWED TO DRIFT. PSYCHOLOGICAL
MOMENT FOR DOING SO MAY BE EVEN MORE FAVORABLE NOW THAN IT WAS
TEN DAYS AGO IN LIGHT SMITH'S RECENT, SOMEWHAT CONCILIATORY
STATEMENT AND CHONA'S INDICATION THAT SOUTH AFRICANS AS WELL
AS ZAMBIANS MAY BE SEROUSLY CONCERNED OF DANGER OF STEPPED
UP GUERRILLA WAR IN RHODESIA.
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